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PAGE 01 PARIS 21685 01 OF 05 081920Z
ACTION SS-00

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DOEE-00	ANHR-01	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FDRE-01	H-01
	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SB-00	SCT-03	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-02	PMB-00
	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/060W		
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O 081814Z AUG 94
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8907
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE PRIORITY
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE PRIORITY
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PAGE 02 PARIS 21685 01 OF 05 081920Z
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK PRIORITY
COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL PRIORITY
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA PRIORITY
USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 PARIS 21685

GENEVA FOR RMA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 7 AUG 2019
DATE/CASE ID: 05 MAY 2011 201005065

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ROME ALSO FOR FODAG

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NAIROBI FOR DART AND REFCOORD

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRM/AAA, PM/ISP,
IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP/ DRL/AAA

USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA,
AID/BHR/FFP, AID/PPC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PHUM, MOPS, PREF, PREL, CG, RW, BY, FR

SUBJECT: MGRW02: A/S MOOSE BRIEFS QUAI ON HIS RWANDA
- TRIP

1. SUMMARY: RETURNING FROM AFRICA, A/S MOOSE BRIEFED
QUAI AFRICA DIRECTOR DE LA SABLIERE AND IO DIRECTOR DE
VERDIERE ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA AND
BURUNDI. MOOSE FOUND THE RPF SERIOUS, HAVING AN IDEA
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PAGE 03 PARIS 21685 01 OF 05 081920Z
OF WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE AND THE DESIRE TO ACCOMPLISH
IT, BUT TOTALLY LACKING THE MEANS TO CARRY OUT SUCH
PLANS. WHILE THE RPF ACKNOWLEDGES THE NEED TO RESTORE
CONFIDENCE AND PREVENT AN EXODUS FROM THE HUMANITARIAN
ZONE, IT DEMANDS JUSTICE BE CARRIED OUT ON THE ISSUE OF
GENOCIDE AND WILL NOT ACCEPT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS AS THE
BASIS FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW ARMY. HUTU INTIMIDATION
OF REFUGEES AND TUTSI REPRISALS AGAINST RETURNEES ALSO
REMAIN STUMBLING BLOCKS.

2. DE LA SABLIERE UNDERScored GOF PREOCCUPATION WITH
THE HZ. HE CHARACTERIZED THE PULLOUT OF FRENCH TROOPS
AS BEING PHASED BY GEOGRAPHIC TRANCHE WITH THEORETICAL
COMPLETION IN 13 DAYS. IN STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF
UNAMIR ARRIVING AND ORGANIZING QUICKLY, DE LA SABLIERE
SAID

THE FRENCH BELIEVE THE PRESENCE OF OUTSIDE
OBSERVERS FROM THE UN, NGO'S, ICRC, ETC., WILL HELP
ESTABLISH CONFIDENCE.

3. MOOSE SAID HE FOUND BURUNDI MORE PREOCCUPYING THAN
HE HAD FEARED. RWANDAN EVENTS HAVE AGGRAVATED THE
SITUATION, WHICH IS POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE. THINGS

B1

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EITHER ARE BLOCKED BY A HOSTILE HARDLINE MINORITY OR BY
UNIFIED TUTSI OPPOSITION. A QUICK SOLUTION MUST BE
FOUND TO THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION CRISIS.

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4. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED WITH THE ANALYSIS AND ADDED
THAT QUAI SECGEN DUFOURCQ HAD JUST LEFT FOR ZAIRE TO
ENCOURAGE MOBUTU TO REMAIN ENGAGED WITH THE NEW
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PAGE 04 PARIS 21685 01 OF 05 081920Z
GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI AND TO BE CAREFUL REGARDING
BURUNDI. HE EMPHASIZED THAT IF THERE WAS A NEW
CONFLAGRATION IN THE AREA, THERE WOULD BE NO
NEIGHBORING COUNTRY TO WHICH REFUGEES COULD FLEE. END
SUMMARY.

MOOSE OBSERVES RWANDA

5. ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS GEORGE

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PAGE 01 PARIS 21685 02 OF 05 081920Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DOEE-00	ANHR-01	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FDRE-01	H-01
	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01
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	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/060W		

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O 081814Z AUG 94
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8908
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AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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PAGE 02 PARIS 21685 02 OF 05 081920Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 PARIS 21685

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TAGS: PHUM, MOPS, PREF, PREL, CG, RW, BY, FR
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MOOSE TRANSITTED PARIS AUGUST 8 ON HIS RETURN FROM A
TRIP TO CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE BRIEFED QUAI
DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS JEAN-MARC ROCHEREAU DE LA
SABLIERE AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS
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PAGE 03 PARIS 21685 02 OF 05 081920Z
DIRECTOR COLIN DE VERDIERE IN DETAIL ON THE
RWANDA/BURUNDI/ZAIRE SEGMENT AND TOUCHED ON A NUMBER OF
OTHER COUNTRIES. THIS MESSAGE REPORTS THE FORMER.

6. MOOSE OPENED BY SHARING HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE RPF
WAS SERIOUS, HAD AN IDEA OF WHAT IT WANTED TO DO, AND
DEMONSTRATED A DESIRE TO DO IT. UNFORTUNATELY, IT
LACKED THE MEANS TO CARRY OUT ITS PLANS BECAUSE THERE
WAS NO GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION, NO JUDICIARY, NO
SERVICES, ETC. MUCH EFFORT WOULD BE NEEDED TO INSTALL
A FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT, AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO FIND
PARTIES TO ACCOMPLISH A RECONCILIATION. THE RPF
CONSIDERED MUCH OF THE MNRD AS COMPROMISED AND MANY
MODERATES WERE RELUCTANT, EITHER BECAUSE OF
INTIMIDATION OR BECAUSE THEY FELT THE CURRENT
GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT LAST. ALTHOUGH THE RPF SEES SOME
ELEMENTS OF THE FORMER RWANDAN ARMY (FAR) AS
ACCEPTABLE, IT WILL NOT ACCEPT THE ARUSHA FORMULA
BECAUSE YOUNG RPF MILITARY ARE NOT PREPARED TO
RELINQUISH THE FRUITS OF VICTORY. THE RPF WANTS TO
ESTABLISH A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL QUICKLY AND SEEKS
INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. THERE IS AN URGENT NEED TO
DEPLOY MONITORS QUICKLY AND TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL
JURISTS INVOLVED. MOOSE SAID THIS IS THE REASON HE
ASKED A/S SHATTUCK TO VISIT THE AREA.

7. GROUPS OF TUTSI YOUTH AND NEW UNTRAINED AND LESS
DISCIPLINED ARMY RECRUITS (RPF FORCES HAVE GROWN FROM
15,000 TO 30,000) ARE CARRYING OUT REPRISALS, DESPITE
KAGAME'S ATTEMPTS TO MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE. THE 50,000
RETURNED TUTSI REFUGEES FROM THE 1950'S AND 1960'S
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PAGE 04 PARIS 21685 02 OF 05 081920Z
 EXODUSES WANT TO RECOVER THEIR FORMER HOMES AND LAND.
 THE CABINET MET LAST WEEK, MOOSE REPORTED, AND AGREED
 TO THE ARUSHA PRINCIPLE OF ONLY RESTORING LAND RIGHTS
 FOR THOSE WHO FLED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. THE RPF ALSO
 SEEKS INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO END TENDENTIOUS
 PROPAGANDA IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. THEY ARE IN
 DISCUSSION WITH UNAMIR TO SET UP JOINT PATROLS INSIDE
 RWANDA, PARTLY AS A MEANS TO FORESTALL NEW FLIGHT FROM
 THE HZ. UNFORTUNATELY, NOT ENOUGH UNAMIR TROOPS ARE

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PAGE 01 PARIS 21685 03 OF 05 081921Z
 ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DOEE-00	ANHR-01	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FDRE-01	H-01
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	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/060W		

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O 081814Z AUG 94
 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8909
 INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
 SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE PRIORITY
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 PARIS 21685 03 OF 05 081921Z
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK PRIORITY
COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL PRIORITY
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA PRIORITY
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- TRIP

AVAILABLE. THE RPF UNDERSTANDS THE NEED NOT TO BEGIN A
NEW STAMPEDE, [REDACTED]

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B1

FRENCH REFLECTIONS

8. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED AND MENTIONED THAT HE HAD SENT THE AMBASSADOR IN KAMPALA TO KIGALI THIS PAST WEEKEND, BUT STILL HAD NO READOUT. FRANCE'S MAJOR PREOCCUPATION WAS ITS HZ, FROM WHICH FRENCH FORCES WILL LEAVE IN 13 DAYS. THERE ALREADY HAS BEEN A PULLOUT FROM KIKONGORO, AND TROOPS ARE NOW LEAVING KIBUYE. A STAGED WITHDRAWAL BY ZONE IS INTENDED TO TERMINATE OPERATION TURQUOISE BY THE END OF FRANCE'S UN MANDATE ON AUGUST 21, IF POSSIBLE. IT THEREFORE IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE UN TO GET TO THE HZ AND ORGANIZE. THE GOF IS CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE, WHICH IT CLAIMS INSPIRES FEAR RATHER THAN RETURNS TO THE COUNTRY BY REFUGEES.

B1

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9. MOOSE COUNTERED THAT MORE THAN PRESSURE WAS REQUIRED. THE U.S. HAD JUST REOPENED ITS EMBASSY, AND THE GOF SHOULD TAKE STEPS TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNICATIONS AND PREVENT MISUNDERSTANDING. WE NEED TO GET UNAMIR IN PLACE QUICKLY, DESPITE CURRENT BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES. TO THIS END, MOOSE SAID HE HAD ASKED CHIEF OF STAFF SHALIKASHVILI TO PERSONALLY REVIEW THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND. DE LA SABLIERE THEN SKETCHED OUT SOME OF THE

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PAGE 01 PARIS 21685 04 OF 05 081921Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DOEE-00	ANHR-01	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FDRE-01	H-01
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	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/060W		
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O 081814Z AUG 94
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8910
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE PRIORITY
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 PARIS 21685 04 OF 05 081921Z

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USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL PRIORITY
DLA CAMERON STA VA PRIORITY

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SCHEDULED UNAMIR ARRIVALS (GHANAIANS, ETHIOPIANS) AND
CITED THE NEED FOR FOREIGN OBSERVERS (UN, ICRC, UNHRC,
UNHCR, NGO'S). HE STATED THAT QUAI SEC GEN DUFOURCQ
LEFT AUGUST 8 FOR ZAIRE TO "COMFORT" MOBUTU AND
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 21685 04 OF 05 081921Z
ENCOURAGE HIM TO ACT RESPONSIBLY. MOBUTU WANTS THE
REFUGEES TO RETURN AND HAS BEEN COOPERATIVE. FRANCE
WANTS TO ASSURE HIS CONTINUED COOPERATION WITH THE NEW
RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE NEED FOR ZAIRE TO BE CAREFUL
TO AVOID AN EXPLOSION IN BURUNDI OR KIVU THAT WOULD
HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES BECAUSE THERE WOULD NO
LONGER BE A NEUTRAL HAVEN IN THE AREA TO WHICH REFUGEES
COULD FLEE.

ZAIRE

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10. MOOSE AND DE LA SABLIERE ALSO AGREED THERE WAS A NEED TO SUPPORT KENGO IN DEALINGS WITH ZAIRE. MOOSE MENTIONED THE PROBLEM OF ZAIRIAN ARMED FORCES (FAZ), WHERE THE WORD AND DEED WERE NOT ALWAYS MET. THE FAZ HAD TO STOP ITS PILLAGING AND DISARM RWANDAN TROOPS. THE UNHCR BELIEVED PERHAPS 80 PERCENT OF THE FAR WERE DISARMED, BUT DID NOT KNOW WHERE THE WEAPONS WERE. MOOSE REPORTED PRESIDENT MWINYI WAS PREPARED TO GET THE BURUNDI PARTIES TOGETHER, BUT HAD A PROBLEM WITH MOBUTU. DE LA SABLIERE OPINED MOBUTU WOULD NOT CHANGE, BUT REALIZED HE WAS DEALING FROM A POSITION OF WEAKNESS BECAUSE OF THE INTOLERABLE BURDEN AND THE POSSIBILITY OF DESTABILIZING EASTERN ZAIRE. DE LA SABLIERE ADDED THAT FRANCE WOULD RESTART ITS "SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN" AID PROGRAMS NOW, AND LATER WOULD "GO BEYOND THIS." IT ALSO PLANNED TO BEGIN ISSUING VISAS AGAIN, BUT THE CENTRAL CONTROL MECHANISM WOULD REMAIN TO PERMIT A FUTURE CUTOFF -- IF NEEDED.

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PAGE 04 PARIS 21685 04 OF 05 081921Z
BURUNDI

11. MOOSE SAW MANY PARALLELS BETWEEN BURUNDI, WHERE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES HAD FLED AND WHERE THERE WAS MUCH HOSTILE PROPAGANDA, AND RWANDA. EITHER MOST OF THE POPULATION WANTED A SOLUTION AND WERE TEMPORARILY BLOCKED BY A HARDLINE MINORITY OR THE TUTSIS WERE POLARIZED BY RWANDA AND ALL OPPOSED

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 PARIS 21685 05 OF 05 081921Z
ACTION SS-00

O 081814Z AUG 94
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8911
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
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USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE PRIORITY
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 21685 05 OF 05 081921Z
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK PRIORITY
COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL PRIORITY
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA PRIORITY
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WEAKENING THEIR HOLD ON THE POWER STRUCTURE. WE HAD TO
SUPPORT THE FIRST THEORY AND HELP MODERATES ORGANIZE TO
RESOLVE THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION AND ESTABLISH A
CLIMATE OF SECURITY. TO THIS END THERE WAS A NEED TO
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PARIS 21685 05 OF 05 081921Z
INCREASE THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE, BUT SUCH AN
UNDERTAKING WOULD BE DIFFICULT BECAUSE ONE PARTY OR
ANOTHER SURELY WOULD OBJECT TO ANY FORCE AS PARTISAN.
THE U.S. WILL TRY TO USE BUJUMBURA AIRPORT AS A RWANDA
SUPPLY POINT AT LEAST PARTIALLY TO PROVIDE SUCH A
PRESENCE.

12. COMMENT: OUR FRENCH INTERLOCUTORS WERE
APPRECIATIVE OF THE MOOSE BRIEFING. THE DISCUSSIONS
HIGHLIGHTED, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE OUR ANALYSES ARE IN
GENERAL AGREEMENT, THERE ARE SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GOF AND USG POSITIONS.

B1

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13. A/S MOOSE DEPARTED PARIS BEFORE THIS TELEGRAM WAS
DRAFTED.

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HARRIMAN

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PAGE 04

PARIS 21685 05 OF 05 081921Z

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